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CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA MINOR

IN the period upon which we are about to enter, the peoples of south-west Asia, Egypt and south-east Europe were brought into very close contact one with another. Peaceful trading-journeys, ambitious wars by land and by sea, and some sweeping ethnical movements, which had the profoundest consequences for history, made the area virtually one inter-connected whole. The history of no portion of this whole can properly be viewed quite apart from the rest, although naturally it will be necessary to treat each part by itself, and with reference to its own peculiar development and problems. The available sources, moreover, although by no means inconsiderable in quantity, vary greatly as regards quality; both the archaeological and the written materials are often difficult to interpret, or are susceptible of different interpretations, and may be treated from different points of view. Further, the far-reaching political and other changes which mark this period can be best understood only by taking a wider survey of the interrelations between Asia, Africa and Europe which illumine the particular vicissitudes now to be described. To a certain extent this has already been done in volume 1 (see especially chapters 1, II and v). Accordingly, the chapters in this volume are drawn up so as to assist the reader to grasp the period and the area as a whole, and also in their various parts and aspects, though at the unavoidable cost of some repetition and overlapping.

Once more (see vol. 1, p. 181) the history of Egypt holds the premier position, owing mainly to its relations with south-west Asia and the peoples of the East Mediterranean. But Asia Minor now assumes a unique significance, partly because, as the bridge between Europe and Asia, it was the centre of the most intricate developments of the period, and partly also because the rich store of cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz Keui, and the problems of the 'Hittites,' and all their ramifications are proving to be of more fundamental importance than could ever have been suspected. Accordingly, chapters on the peoples of Asia Minor and of Europe form an appropriate introduction, and deal with linguistic problems, and with certain important migrations.

I. GENERAL PHYSICAL CONDITIONS
OF ASIA MINOR

It is still too early to claim that the history of the peoples of Asia Minor may be written with certainty. Rarely crossed by European travellers since the Turkish conquest till the nineteenth century, and still more rarely by scholars desirous to learn its distant past and competent to judge of what they saw, it may be said that Asia Minor was first revealed to the world by the French traveller Texier, and by the British geologist W. J. Hamilton, who started on his memorable expedition in 1835. Since then, French, German and English scholars have been diligent in the study of its geographical features and of its antiquities. But the excavation of the site of Troy was the first attempt on a large scale to widen our knowledge with the help of the spade. To America by the excavation in recent times of Sardes and to Germany by the unearthing of the records of the ancient Anatolian Empire at Boghaz Keui has fallen the glory of revealing its history in days when Greek commerce and Greek language had not yet conquered the vast area that lies between the Black Sea and the Gulf of Alexandretta, between the Aegean and the mountains of Anti-Taurus and Armenia.

To the ancients indeed the bounds of the peninsula towards the east were vague and uncertain. Strabo proposed to draw a line from the eastern end of the plain of Tarsus to Sinope or Amisus (Samsun) on the Black Sea¹. Such a line would form no proper geographical boundary, though at an earlier period such a division might have commended itself to the Greeks, who felt that with the winding Halys ended even vague knowledge of the interior of the peninsula.

Geographically Asia Minor is a curious land. If one may use a homely image, the peninsula may be compared to a gigantic inverted pie-dish, the bottom of which is surrounded by a raised foot. The narrow lip of the inverted vessel is raised but little above sea-level. Behind rises the body of the dish to an average height of 3000 to 3500 feet, and surrounding this is the foot formed on the south by the great Taurus range, and continued to the north-east by Anti-Taurus. This mighty rampart the invader has generally found invincible. The Cilician Gates above Tarsus are an entrance and an exit made by human hands, and, being unapproachable by a host in days before artillery, were not difficult to hold by a small

¹ Strabo, xiv, p. 664.

but determined force. A slight change of ground for the defenders still leaves the pass impregnable. The last invaders of the peninsula who have made good its possession—the Turks—came in to it by the mountains of Armenia far to the east. The range of Amanus which forms the dividing line between the plain of Tarsus in Cilicia and Syria is less formidable. Access also from Mesopotamia is not difficult, and the powerful states of that region at an early period availed themselves of this route to the metal-working areas near the Black Sea.

On the north side, though the interior is cut off from the sea by similar though lower ranges of mountains, the foot is neither so continuous nor so difficult of access. On the north-west and the west the peninsula is more vulnerable. From the plain of Troy or along the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander lay the routes for trade and for war. The Crusaders with Godfrey gathered at Dorylaeum (Eski-Shehr); Cyrus the younger started from Sardes on the Hermus for his expedition to distant Babylon against his brother Artaxerxes; and at Celaenae, the later Apamea, Alexander's forces converged when they were to set out upon the conquest of the Persian Empire to its farthest eastern bounds.

The climatic conditions of the great central plateau of Asia Minor are very different from those of its coast lands. Its rivers descending from the lofty heights of the table-land bring down with them great quantities of solid matter, which in the course of ages have extended the coast line far out to sea, and produced a low-lying, marshy, and malarious area at the foot of the steep slopes which ascend to the central plain. The island of Lade, off which the Greeks and Persians fought a battle in 494 B.C., is now a hill some miles inland. The central plain is to a large extent treeless and better suited for pasture than for agriculture. The climate of this area is continental; the summers are hot and the winters severe. The slopes which border the southern side of the Black Sea, on the other hand, form one of the most beautiful countries in the world, rich in forest, in fruit trees and in flowering plants. East of Trebizond the rhododendron and the azalea, here upon their native soil, blossom in the greatest profusion. The alluvial soil of the western shores is deep and rich, a land fit for the growth and maintenance of great cities which could draw to themselves the wealth in corn and wool of the hinterland, and well provided with harbours from which daring mariners might carry to north and south and west the rich products which had accumulated in their towns. On the south the plain of Cilicia was probably always unwholesome from its malarious marshes, but it

was important as connecting Asia Minor with its southern neighbours, Syria and Palestine.

By far the most important of the rivers of Asia Minor was the Halys (now the Kizil Irmak or Red River), which, rising in the mountains of the lesser Armenia, runs for some distance in a westerly direction, almost parallel to the Euphrates, and having made a tremendous curve to the south-west turns gradually northwards and finds its way to the Black Sea some thirty or forty miles to the north-west of Samsun. Of less importance are other northward-flowing rivers, the Iris, east of the Halys, formed by the junction of the ancient Scylax and Lycus and, much farther to the west, the Sangarius which, emptying itself into the Black Sea some sixty or seventy miles east of the Bosphorus, seems to make the eastern boundary of Homer's knowledge. From its banks Priam of Troy brought Hecuba to be his bride and there he fought against the mysterious women warriors, the Amazons, whose legend in the lands east of the Halys is not even now extinct.

Apart from the Halys the most important of Anatolian rivers are those which flow westwards. The Simois and Scamander of Troy would have had no importance in the world had it not been that the Homeric epic of the tale of Troy centred on their banks. The Caïcus flowing south-westwards not far from the later Pergamum; the Hermus traversing a comparatively narrow valley on the southern slope of which stood Sardes the capital of the Lydian Empire and Magnesia near Mount Sipylus, and entering a bay on the southern side of which stood Smyrna; the Cayster through marshes famed for water-fowl reaching the sea at Ephesus; the Maeander pouring through a broad valley studded on either side by famous cities—all these play an important part in Greek history and legend. In the mountainous country of Lycia the rivers are naturally shorter and less important. Through picturesque gorges the Sarus (Seihun) and the Pyramus (Jihun) break out into the Cilician plain which owes its extent to them, though they are too swift to be of use for the exploitation of the mountainous country inland.

In this mountainous country volcanic rocks, through which run veins of valuable metals, rise here and there amid the prevalent limestone of the peninsula. Probably the earliest inroads into Asia which history as yet records are those of enterprising traders from Mesopotamia, who have left behind them evidence in pottery and inscriptions of their presence more than twenty centuries before Christ. At Kültepe, south of the great bend of the Halys near Caesarea Mazaca, there seems to have been an

emporium for the iron forged by the Chalybes far to the north on the slopes nearer to the Black Sea between Samsun and Trebizond, a mysterious people living in dens and caves of the earth, giving rise to legends of mysterious dwarfs, and supplying the Greeks with a name for steel, which seems to have become known to them first from this area. This country is rich in minerals. Strabo speculates on the relation between the name of the Chalybes and Alybe, whence according to Homer was the origin of silver¹. It is possible in the case of foreign names that the phonetic laws of Greek did not hold and that some connection did exist. In modern times a relation has been seen between Alybe and the word *silver*, and the existence according to Pliny of a river Sidenum and a tribe of Sideni, to which Strabo adds a town Side, suggests that here also may be the origin of *Sidēros*, the Greek word for iron, the etymology of which is unknown².

It is probable that, from the earliest times, on the central plains at least and extending down into the mountainous country to the south-west was a population with a striking physiognomy which is still common amongst the Armenian population of to-day. Of this population the special characteristics are a prominent nose in line with a forehead receding and rising to an unusual height. How far this strange configuration of head is natural and how far increased by the practice of mothers to tie very tightly round the heads of their babies a towel, which when soaked in water exercises great pressure upon the tender bones of infancy, is still a matter of dispute amongst experts. Probably art has only increased the sloping forehead given by nature, and the Hittite warriors of the fourteenth century B.C. and the Armenians of to-day have the same characteristic profile. It may be fairly assumed that the rich coast-lands drew from very early times invaders to establish themselves, and throughout history we find on the sea-level a population differing from that which holds the great central plain, much as along the eastern shore of the Adriatic the coast population has generally differed from that of the inland country high above it. The pastoral people of the plateau, however, must in early times have been to some extent migratory because of the difficulty of keeping their flocks alive during the stress of winter. Just as to this day the sheep of the highlands of Scotland migrate to the lowlands in winter where food is more plentiful and accessible, so in Asia Minor the primitive Anatolian

¹ Strabo, XII, p. 549; *Iliad*, II, 857.

² Pliny, *N.H.* VI, 11; Strabo, XII, p. 548. Sayce (*C.R.* 1922, p. 19) suggests that *χαλκός* may be derived from Khalki whence copper came.

shepherd must have moved towards the coast in the winter season. Geographical conditions tend to produce the same results in distant ages, and the migratory Yürüks of modern times, though nominally of an alien stock, really only reproduce the practice of the primitive age. In both periods the development of a strong people along the coast was bound to hamper and ultimately to limit in a great degree the ancient summer and winter migrations of the flocks.

II. THE HITTITES AND OTHER PEOPLES OF ASIA MINOR

This country of Asia Minor, ever since history began, has been a country of passage between East and West, and its whole history is a record of migrations to and fro across it from Central Asia to Europe or from Europe to Central Asia, Afghanistan and India. Out of the aboriginal people seems to have grown the mighty empire of the Hittites, who, though known to us from the O.T. as settled in Palestine, were only, as we now learn, immigrants into that area and had their home much farther to the north. In the area where we find them prominent in the earliest times there was a people known to the Greeks of the Roman period as the White Syrians (*Λευκόσυροι*). The epithet White was apparently given to them to distinguish them from the Phoenicians or Red Syrians, and it is noticeable that in Egyptian art the Hittites are represented as of a paler colour than the red Phoenicians.

The ethnological and philological relations of this stock are still uncertain. The kings of Babylon, according to legend, were in touch with them nearly 3000 years before Christ. From Tell el-Amarna and from Assyria come two fragments which relate the story of the campaign made by Sargon I into Cappadocia in the third year of his reign, in order to relieve the Babylonian colony of traders at Ganesh (Kanes) from the attacks of the king of Burushkhandia. In Ganesh we recognize the modern Kültepe, a colony which had been founded by the city of Kish in southern Babylonia. Sargon's date is fixed about 2850 B.C. Some 600 years later are dated the cuneiform inscriptions found at Kültepe, which were the records of a business house in the colony. From about 1800 B.C. the Hittites come more fully into the light of history.

Since the beginning of the archaeological exploration of Asia Minor stone carvings of a very characteristic kind have been found in various parts. Some are obviously under the influence of Assyrian art but others bear a distinctive character of their own. One of the largest known and one of the most striking,

though also probably one of the latest in date, is the famous rock carving of Ivriz, in a gorge ascending from the Lycaonian plain not many miles from Eregli. There is represented a scene of a king clothed in an embroidered robe and a mantle, in an attitude of supplication before a larger and sturdier figure, which obviously represents a deity of vegetation, for in his right hand he holds a vine branch with three great clusters of grapes, and in his left he grasps a handful of ears of corn. On the rock between the face of the deity and the upheld corn ears is an inscription in the peculiar hieroglyphics which we now know to be of the Hittites. The dress of the god is simpler than that of his worshipper, being a tunic with a downward curving hem making a point in front. Round his waist he wears an ornamental girdle. Both figures have thick curly hair reaching to the nape of the neck and curly beards. Experts assign these figures to the eighth century B.C. To a much earlier period belong some figures of the Sun-god Teshub, with a curly beard well known in Assyrian sculpture, but with his hair in a long queue under a bell-shaped cap. He too wears a tunic with a belt in which is thrust a sword. Round the tunic runs an ornamental hem and on his feet he has shoes with upturned toes. In his right hand the god wields a battle-axe and in his left he holds the symbol of the lightning, which might be compared to a scourge with three thongs.

For the history of the Hittites before the fifteenth century B.C. our information is very scanty, but it would seem that gradually they pushed down into the valley of the Euphrates on the one side, and into western Syria and Palestine on the other. The later Assyrians have indeed been well described as Hittites who had adopted the civilization of Babylon. Their pressure along the Mediterranean coast brought them in time into contact with Egypt, whose conquests were spreading upwards from the south. From the annals of Thutmose III we learn that he more than once received presents from the princes of Kheta and we can still see the representations of envoys bringing gifts and of subject princes of Keftiu and Kheta. The details belong to the history of Egypt, see pp. 77, 82. In later centuries a Hittite kingdom existed with its centre at Carchemish, but its importance was secondary and in 717 B.C. it succumbed finally to the Assyrians.

Ramses II is said to have subdued the 'Peoples of the Sea', a vague title which it is hardly possible as yet to define with accuracy. It is clear that these people were not merely raiding brigands, but migrated from land to land with all their belongings, their wives and children, much as the Gauls of a later date attacked

and occupied, for a time at least, various parts of Europe and even of Asia (see chap. XII). Their name survives in the mysterious peoples whom the Greeks called Pelasgoi (Πελασγοί). The term is a quite regular derivative from the stem of πέλαγος the sea, and the ending -κόσ, frequently employed in tribal names. To the Greeks themselves these peoples were, in later times, nothing but a name. They identified them on the coast of Thrace, in Lemnos, in Attica at the very foot of the Acropolis, in north-west Greece, in Crete, in Italy and other places. But what tongue they spoke, whence they came, or whither they went, they were entirely unable to tell. In the time of Herodotus the Pelasgians were still to be found in Thrace in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. Their language Herodotus regarded as non-Greek. In the Athenians and Ionians he saw a Pelasgian people who had become Hellenized¹. In truth it was not unnatural that the ancients should not be able to define the race or the language of the Pelasgians, for like other rovers of ancient and modern times they were probably neither of one race nor of one speech. Thus they are no doubt accurately described in the Great Karnak inscription by the Egyptians as 'northerners coming from all lands².'

In the letters from Tell el-Amarna before the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. mention is made of certain tribes, Danuna, Shardina, Shakalsha, which with greater or less certainty have been identified with Greek Danai, men of Sardes or of Sardinia, and men of Sagalassus, north of Pisidia. In the reign of Ramses II (about 1290 B.C.) they have become very formidable and in combination with the Hittites and other foes are a serious danger to Egypt. The identifications, in the imperfect Egyptian method of writing the names, are again necessarily uncertain. But with fair probability there may be distinguished Lycians, Cilicians, Dardani presumably from Troy-land, and more doubtfully men from Mysia and Pedasus. Ramses II was successful in staying off the evil day when Egyptian decadence must submit to foreign conquest. Before many years had passed, his son king Merneptah found he had a still more formidable coalition of foreign foes to meet. For sometime Libyan tribes had been occupying the western Delta. Now they are backed by a strong alliance in which the Lycians appear as before. The Shardina, to be identified with Sardinians, who had been mercenaries of Ramses II, are now opposed to the Egyptians, and with them come Tursha, who are held to be Etruscans, and Akaiwasha, Greek Achacans. If the Shakalsha of the fourteenth century were men of Sagalassus, unless there

¹ Herod. I, 56.

² Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, p. 241.

had meantime been some western migration, it is difficult to identify them with the Sikels of Sicily. See further, chap. XII.

To the incursions of these mysterious sea-folk we probably owe it that some of the names of peoples which are known to us in early times have in later days ceased to be familiar. In the mountainous country of south-west Asia Minor it would not be surprising if there were relics of several races which had succeeded one another, each newcomer in turn subdued by a later. The name however of Lycia is old, and Egyptian scholars argue that in the Ruku of Egyptian monuments are to be found the ancient Lycians who, along with other sea-folk, had fought against the Egyptians and been taken captive. But even so, Herodotus recognized a still more ancient name of the country in Milyas, and earlier inhabitants in the Solymi and Termilai or Tremilai¹. These tribes were regarded as being extremely ancient, for to Bellerophon was ascribed the change of the name of Tremilai into Lycians. Yet even in the time of Herodotus the name Termilai was still familiar. In the later population scholars are inclined to see a stock that had migrated from the island of Crete, which the poet of the *Odyssey*, or his interpolator, recognized as a land of ninety cities in which were many peoples and among them the Pelasgoi². Wild as this corner of Asia is, it has preserved more records, in the form of non-Greek inscriptions, than any other district as yet of the western littoral of Asia Minor. But though the inscriptions are numerous, it cannot be said that they throw light upon the origins of the language, which, after discussions protracted over many years, cannot certainly be referred to any of the known families of language. In many respects the Lycian customs resembled those of the Carians, but in one they were conspicuously different. The Lycians counted kin through the mother, legitimized the offspring of the union between a woman who was a citizen and a slave, and deprived of rights the children of a male citizen and a slave woman³.

Their next neighbours, the Carians, were somewhat more fortunate, for in them were recognized by the ancients—and their statement is not disputed by the moderns—a population extending over many of the islands which in later times were Greek, and believed at one time to have occupied the mainland of Greece itself. In the days of Thucydides graves opened by the Athenians for the purification of the island of Delos showed, according to the historian, skeletons of which more than half were recognized by the armour buried with them and by the form of burial as

¹ I, 173; cf. p. 282 below. ² *Odyssey*, XIX, 175 sqq. ³ Herod. I, 173.

being Carians¹. Whatever its origin, this also was a fighting stock which supplied mercenaries to Asiatic and Egyptian potentates, and most of the little that we know of the Carian language is drawn from the names scratched in an idle hour upon monuments on the banks of the upper Nile. In Caria also there seems to have been a mixture of populations. The people of Caunus, in the eyes of Herodotus, were natives of the soil, while, according to him, the Carians came to the mainland from the islands. There, in the time of Minos, they were called Leleges and lived free of tribute, having no duty but to man his ships when Minos called upon them so to do². The people of Caunus also claimed, like the Lycians, that they came from Crete. But this is hardly likely if, as says the historian, who himself came from the Carian coast, their customs differed from those of every other people.

The relation between Leleges and Carians is no less difficult (see below, p. 27). According to Herodotus, Leleges was but an old name of the Carians by which they were called when they occupied the islands³. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Philip of Theangela, himself a native of Caria, was right in declaring that the Leleges stood in the same relation to the Carians as the Helots to their Lacedaemonian masters and the Penestae to their Thessalian overlords⁴. In spite of the lateness of the authority, it seems not at all unlikely that in Caria as in Greece there was an early population reduced to serfdom by later incomers. With the Carians Herodotus classes the Lydians and Mysians, assuring us that they had a common worship at the temple of the Carian Zeus at Mylasa in Caria; Lydus and Mysus, the eponymous heroes of the Lydians and the Mysians, being brothers of Car, the founder of the Carians. Even Strabo, who agrees with Herodotus that the Carians, when they were subjects of Minos in the islands, were called Leleges, admits that when they occupied the mainland of Asia they took from Leleges and Pelasgoi mainly the lands which they held henceforth⁵.

More important for the part they played in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. were the Lydians. In Homer, however, the name of the Lydians is entirely unknown, their place being taken by the Maeonians⁶. Homer links Maconia with Phrygia and in a simile of the *Iliad* speaks of the Maeonian or Carian woman staining ivory with red to be the cheek-piece of a bridle⁷. In the tenth book of the *Iliad* Lycians, Mysians, Phrygians and

¹ Thuc. I, 8, 1.

³ Herod. I, 171.

⁵ Strabo, XIV, 27, p. 661.

² Herod. I, 171.

⁴ Athenaeus, VI, 271b (*F.H.G.* IV, 475).

⁶ *Iliad*, III, 401.

⁷ *Iliad*, IV, 142.

Maeonians are encamped together¹. Unfortunately the results of the American excavations at Sardes, so far as yet published, have not thrown so much light as was expected upon the history of the Lydians. But here, as elsewhere on this coast, it may be conjectured that the Maeonians were an earlier people subdued and ultimately assimilated by the Lydians. Some Maeonians, however, were still important enough to be distinguished in Xerxes' army from the Lydians. Their military equipment was like that of the Cilicians. Pliny says that there were still Maeonians at the foot of Tmolus on the river Cogamus at no great distance from Sardes, which was their legal centre². Whence the Lydians may have come cannot as yet be determined. The country was one to tempt the invader, for, besides the richness of the long river valley, gold dust was obtained from Mount Tmolus. Herodotus could discover little in the customs of the people to distinguish them from the Greeks, except for one curious practice of the common people, among whom daughters earned their own dowries as courtesans. He regards the people as extremely enterprising, the first to coin gold and silver and the first to engage in merchandise³. They were of an inventive turn of mind, for to them Herodotus assigns the discovery of all games except draughts.

Most important of all his statements regarding them is his circumstantial account of their colonization of Etruria. No statement in Herodotus has been perhaps more hotly disputed. But after long discussion no other view, to say the least, appears more plausible. From the inscriptions already published from Sardes it is impossible to say that Lydian and Etruscan are very closely related, though they have undoubtedly a superficial resemblance. Here we must wait for further information. But there is one point of resemblance which has been but little noticed. The Lydians, it is well known, had a great passion for jewellery. From the plates in the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Jewellery it is very clear that there was an intimate relation between the jewellery of Ionia, influenced by Lydia, and the jewellery of Etruria. Both are characterized by figures of lions and a lion-taming goddess and the frequent use of the Sphinx and of female heads probably representing a goddess⁴. A further item is added to the complexity of the problem by the bas-relief found in Lemnos and first published in 1886, which shows a striking bust of a

¹ *Iliad*, x, 430 sq.

² Herod. vii, 74, 77; Pliny, *N.H.* v, 111, where they are called Maconii, not Macones.

³ Herod. i, 93 sq.

⁴ See F. H. Marshall, Introduction to *B.M. Catalogue*, p. xxv sq.

warrior holding a spear with a leaf-shaped head. Two inscriptions in an unknown tongue are written alongside in an archaic form of the Greek alphabet. Here, again, the language, though unknown, has a still more striking resemblance to Etruscan. Till more light can be obtained upon this perplexing problem we may adhere to the belief that the Lydians, the Etruscans, and the authors of these remarkable Lemnian inscriptions were part of the 'Peoples of the Sea' whom the Greeks vaguely called Pelasgoi, and we may believe that in Lydia and in Etruria they established themselves on great mainland territories, possibly from an island home. The detailed investigation of these facts is a matter rather for Comparative Philology than for History, and till greater agreement among authorities is attained it would be idle to draw serious historical conclusions from them. See also p. 282.

The most northerly position amongst the peoples of the western littoral of Asia Minor was occupied by the Mysians, who, according to the ancient writers, were of Thracian descent, and were connected with the inhabitants of the district on the south of the Danube known in later times as Moesia¹. Here, however, there can be little doubt that there was an earlier substratum of population and possibly more than one. To this earlier population must be ascribed the worship which was common to Mysians, Lydians and Carians². In Mysia was the Troad, the most famous area in the earliest literature of Europe, with its renowned city of Ilios and its two famous sieges, the second of which attained to greater lustre possibly merely from the fact that it was the theme of one of the greatest of poets.

III. INDO-EUROPEANS; CONTACT WITH EUROPE

With the access to the Dardanelles we pass into a new area the connections of which are more with Europe than with Asia, for across this narrow strait of the Hellespont, even more than by the waters of the Golden Horn, the teeming populations of Thrace passed into Asia from Europe. Not once nor twice but many times a succession of waves of population flowed over this northern land. The mountain ranges are parallel to the sea coast, and by a long valley which runs up through Paphlagonia to the Halys have passed through all ages the armies which have made or marred the fate of Asiatic empires. We must think of these waves as following one another, each helping to propel still farther eastwards the wave that preceded it. One of the earliest, though probably not the first, of these waves has only lately become known to us.

¹ Strabo, xii, 566, 542.

² Herod. i, 171.

In 1907 were first published from the German discoveries at Boghaz Keui the names of the Indian deities Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the heavenly twins, the Nāsatyas. The records belong to about the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., and, in spite of the difficulties of the cuneiform syllabary, there could be no doubt that here were names well known in Indian mythology, though at a distance of some two thousand five hundred miles from the nearest point of India. Since then numerals and other words have been discovered of the same origin. It is noticeable that the words are not, as might be expected, in the Iranian forms, which in later times are distinguished from the Indian forms by well-marked phonetic differences¹. There is no probability that we have at this early date the records of Indian princes carrying their conquests so far afield. The only feasible conclusion is that here we have, in the fourteenth century B.C., the records of the Aryan people not yet differentiated into Iranians and Indians, who at a later period formed these two important Indo-European stocks. Much is still uncertain with regard to many of the records discovered at Boghaz Keui, but this at all events is beyond dispute, that, amongst the peoples who for a time centred around this ancient Hittite capital, were some speaking languages containing a strong Indo-European element in their vocabulary, the surest proof that Indo-European and other peoples had been in close contact. The course of their wanderings we do not know as yet, but close upon them must have followed the people now known to us as the Armenians, who, in the time of Herodotus, as now, were seated upon the upper waters of the Euphrates, and were the subject population of an alien empire even as they are to-day, although the alien empire in the fifth century B.C. was that of the great Darius of Persia. To Herodotus the Armenians are an off-shoot from the Phrygians.

There is no reason to doubt the statement of Herodotus that the Phrygians were an European stock which had passed into Asia from the Macedonian area in which they had been known to their neighbours as Briges². In the ancient Phrygian language we have two series of inscriptions: the earlier dating from about

¹ This fact is well illustrated by the numerals discovered; the form for 1 is *aika-* in a compound, for 7 *satta-*. For these the Iranian forms are *aiva-* in Old Persian, *aīva-* in the Avesta, but the Sanskrit is *īka-*; in Iranian *hapta*, in Sanskrit *sapta*, *satta* only in the later descendants of Sanskrit like Pāli. These Hittite forms are given by P. Jensen in *S.B. der preussischen Akademie*, 1919, pp. 367 *sqq.*; E. Forrer, *Z.D.M.G.* 1922, pp. 254 *sqq.* See below, pp. 253, 259.

² Herod. VII, 73.

the sixth century B.C.; the later and more numerous being the tomb-inscriptions of the Roman period. From Armenia comes a rich literature beginning in the fifth century A.D. The language, long supposed to be an off-shoot of Iranian, was demonstrated in 1875 to be an independent branch of the Indo-European stock¹. To one and the same section belong all the peoples of this family which have been already mentioned. They are distinguished from the stocks of the same origin in western Europe by their treatment of certain original guttural consonants which these languages convert into some form of sibilant, while in Europe they remain guttural sounds. The Phrygian invasion of Asia must have been a very important one, and Phrygia in the hey-day of its power occupied a large part of the interior of Asia Minor, including that which in historical times was ultimately occupied by Gauls and named Galatia.

Of the Paphlagonians, the peoples situated to the north of Phrygia, we know little. Their name was familiar to the Greeks from Homer downwards. In the catalogue of the ships we are told that 'they were led by the shaggy heart of Pylaemenes from the Enetoi, whence is the race of wild mules.' They were famous for their horses and horse-breeding, but the most interesting point is the reference to the name of the Enetoi, to which the ancients found a counterpart in the Veneti on the banks of the Po in northern Italy. By Strabo's time the Enetoi in Asia had entirely disappeared, though even this was disputed, and Zeno-dotus identified Enete, which he read in the text of Homer, with the town of Amisus (Samsun). Others accounted for their disappearance as due to the loss of Pylaemenes in the Trojan war, which led to their migration to Thrace after the destruction of Troy and to their further migration to the north of Italy². Among Athenians the Paphlagonians had an ill reputation as slaves. This character is probably to be interpreted as arising from the attitude of men who did not bow easily to the yoke. According to Strabo their eastern boundary was the Halys, and they appear to be distinct from the 'White Syrians' or Hittites who lived beyond it. To the west of them were situated tribes, the Caucones and the Mariandyni, who were soon absorbed by their neighbours. In the Persian army the Mariandyni were armed like the Paphlagonians, as were also the Ligyes (otherwise unknown here) and the Matieni. Though Herodotus more than once describes the Matieni as lying beyond the Armenians who border on Cappadocia, their historical existence has long been a puzzle.

¹ H. Hübschmann, *Z. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, xxiii, 5-49.

² Strabo, xii, p. 543; vii, p. 318.

Regarding the earlier history of the Matieni, however, the documents of Boghaz Keui apparently afford a clue. Amongst the eight peoples of whom the records are found in the great library unearthed at Boghaz Keui between 1905 and 1907, there appears one named Manda¹, which is identified with the people of the same name who had come into notice as early as the time of Narām-Sin (2750–2700 B.C.); seven hundred years later as Mada; in the second millennium B.C. the name appears several times as Manda; in Assyrian inscriptions of the first millennium B.C. first and rarely as Amadai and Matai and then frequently as Madai. At the beginning of the first millennium B.C. a branch of the same people, as we learn from the Assyrian documents, is found settled near Lake Urmia. The oldest form of the name in Greek is preserved in the Cyprian Madoi. In the Boghaz Keui documents we are told that one branch of this people had neither tilled nor reaped their land, but that a king of the Hatti (Hittites) had made of them vassals and compelled them to be tillers of the soil, thus converting shepherds into husbandmen. From this we may conclude that the Medes, as they are shown to be, must have been one of the earliest waves of the Indo-European speaking peoples or Wiros who crossed into Asia (see pp. 23, 28). The fact that they came into Mesopotamia from the north is no proof that they did not cross Asia Minor in the first instance as so many of their successors did. It is not improbable that this was the source from which the mixed languages found at Boghaz Keui obtained their Indo-European elements.

The boundaries of Cappadocia seem to have varied greatly at different times. The wave of Phrygian invasion, which must have been one of the largest, cut off Cappadocia from western Asia Minor; but through Cataonia and Lycaonia it was able to maintain its connection with Cilicia². Though the most famous Hittite sites, Euyuk and Boghaz Keui, were within the bend of the Halys, Hittite remains are more numerous between the Halys and the Taurus. An important road led from their capital at Boghaz Keui to Caesarea Mazaca, whence a branch passed through Tyana and the Cilician Gates to Tarsus and the sea. The population of the mountainous part of Cilicia seems to have been originally of the same stock as the Hittites. In this area, about 1200 B.C., developed the second Hittite empire with Tyana as its capital,

¹ E. Forrer, *Z.D.M.G.* 1922, pp. 248 *sqq.*

² The language of Lycaonia is still obscure; Calder, *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 188 *sq.*; Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discoveries on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* (1915), chap. v.

when the ancient power at Boghaz Keui had been overthrown by a confederation of tribes who carried their conquest into Syria and even threatened Egypt¹. When the Hittite empire failed, the Phrygian power, represented to the modern world by the legend and the monument of Midas, took its place as the controlling force in the centre of Asia Minor, until in its turn it was overthrown by the kings of Lydia, the last of whom, Croesus, succumbed to the Persians under Cyrus in 546 B.C.

As the Hittite stock seems to represent the native population of Asia, as distinguished from the 'Peoples of the Sea,' and other later incomers, it is probable that the original population of the mountainous districts of Isauria, Pisidia and possibly Milyas in Lycia (whose inhabitants were identified with the Solymi) represent the same stock. The territory lying between the sea and Pisidia was, as its name Pamphylia implies, tenanted by a mixture of peoples who, as on all the low-lying coasts of Asia Minor, had pushed their way in from outside. Unlike most areas upon the Asiatic coast, Pamphylia was unable to maintain Greek with any purity; consequently of all Greek dialects Pamphylian is the most modified by its surroundings. If, however, there is any truth in the theory that the endings in *-ssos* and *-nda* are Carian, since they have been found on European as well as Asiatic territory, there must have been a great influx of Carians into Pisidia, for of the thirteen towns given by Strabo as Pisidian six have the ending *-ssos*, the most important being Sagalassos and Termessos (see also pp. 282, 556). Sinda represents the other ending, and Adada, Tymbrida and Amblada may also be akin. Strabo himself recognizes implicitly such a possibility when he states that they bordered on Phrygians, Lydians and Carians, who, he quaintly says, are 'all peaceful peoples though exposed to the north wind,' while the Romans discovered, to their cost, that the Isaurians and Pisidians were much otherwise, and the Pamphylians, having a great share of Cilician blood amongst them, found it difficult to relinquish piracy². Here once more appear the *Leleges*, 'wanderers,' says Strabo, 'and remaining here through similarity of character.'

In the *Odyssey* the poet has heard of a mysterious people called the Cimmerians, who live on the threshold of the underworld wrapt in mist and clouds, and the sun never looks down upon them with his rays either at morn or eventide, but deadly night

¹ Sayce, *J.R.A.S.* 1922, pp. 569 *sqq.* See below, pp. 174, 283.

² Strabo, XII, p. 570.

is over all¹. The people whose name was thus first made known to literature lived on the north side of the Black Sea in and about the Crimean peninsula. At the end of the eighth century B.C. or the beginning of the seventh these Cimmerians were driven from their ancient seats by an invasion of the Skolot-Scythians, who seem to have been mainly of Iranian stock. As a result, the Cimmerians moved first to the eastward and then found their way through the central pass of the Caucasus. The Scythians followed in their wake, but at the Caucasus they seem to have missed them; going farther eastwards, and passing through the Caspian Gates, they arrived in Azerbaijan and Media. The events that followed will be treated in the chapter on the Scythians in vol. III.

It is often dangerous to rely upon similarity of name; but the number of identical forms in Asia Minor and in the Balkan peninsula is too great to be the product of mere accident, and in some cases, as that of the Enetoi and the Veneti, the ancients themselves were concerned to explain the coincidence. But besides that instance, and the case of the Mysians in the Troad and the Moesians on the Danube, there were also the Dardania in Mysia from which Priam drew many of his forces, and Dardania at the western end of Mount Haemus. The name has been related by some authorities to the Albanian word for farmer, *dardhan*, which is itself a derivative from *dardhe*, the pear tree. The tradition of the arrival of the Paeonians in Asia is recorded by Herodotus in one of his most picturesque passages and their return to Europe in another not less so².

The contact with Thrace had begun early, for Homer represents Priam as the head of an alliance of tribes combined in defence of Troy but drawn from Europe as well as from Asia. The later settlement of the Thynoi and Bithynoi, whether it arose in connection with the Treres or not, was but the continuation of an older practice. These tribes were able to remain between the river Parthenius and the sea of Marmara because the course of the invasion of Asia Minor now took another turn.

Two peoples who played a large part in Asia came in last, the Greeks and much later the Gauls. It is clear that the coming of the Greeks into Asia did not take place along the whole of the western coast of Asia at the same period. There is little doubt that the earliest stage was the migration of the Aeolians of northern Greece. Here legend seems to correspond well with what might be expected to be fact. From Iolcus went forth the expedition of Jason, which in itself was nothing at all surprising,

¹ XI, 14.

² Herod. v, 12, 16; v, 98.

and is merely the story of early adventurers at sea, garnished with the myths of the Clashing Islands (Symplegades), and of the Golden Fleece, and the magic of Medea in Colchis. From the northern area also came some of the most important chiefs of the two expeditions at Troy, Peleus against Laomedon, Achilles against Priam. The Pagasæan Gulf is a natural starting-point for sea-rovers, and by Scyros, Imbros and Lemnos it was easy to descend upon the Asiatic coast. Later came the invasion of the Ionians of Attica, and especially of the Peloponnese, into the parts about Miletus and Ephesus. Much earlier than these, it may be conjectured, while the Arcadian stock had easy access to the sea, a colony set forth to Cyprus which continued, down even to the fourth century B.C., to write Greek in an Asiatic syllabary (vol. 1, p. 144). This island, far to the east, clearly lost touch, to a large extent, with the homeland of Greece and, surrounded by an indigenous and also a Phœnician population, preserved its language, as such colonies do, in a more primitive form than survived in its native country. Later still came the Dorians into Crete and into the south-western corner of the Asiatic coast (see chap. xix).

The most energetic of those peoples were the Ionians of Miletus. Their colonies, established solely in the interest of their trade, extended on the one side into the Black Sea and on the other into the Delta of the Nile. Their influence spread north and south over their neighbours, so that Smyrna ceased to be Aeolian and Halicarnassus ceased to be Dorian. The Greeks have always been a seafaring and not an inland people, and hence it came about that the area occupied by Greeks at the end of the nineteenth century A.D. was much the same as they were occupying in the eighth century B.C.

The Gaulish tribes repeat in the full light of history what many other tribes must have done before history begins. Their earlier connections are set forth in the following chapter. They did not reach Asia till 278 B.C. Their opportunity arose from family disputes amongst the princes on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. They were in three divisions, the Tolistobogii, the Trocmi and the Tectosages¹. The princes of Asia regarded their raids with awe and horror, but every one of them was prepared to employ Gaulish mercenaries as fighters against some town or tribe which had incurred his enmity. After wandering to and fro for some time as raiders, these Gauls firmly established themselves in part of the great area which had once been Phrygia. They very soon adopted the worship of the Earth goddess, the

¹ Livy, xxxviii, 16.

most characteristic cult of Asia Minor, a fetish stone of which was brought from Pessinus to Rome in 204 B.C. With the cult they adopted the foul rites which belonged to it, so that to later times the emasculated priests of the Great Mother were known as Gauls (Galli).

With the kings of Pergamum the Gauls were never at peace, because the kings of Pergamum were not strong enough by themselves to reduce them to order. In the early part of the second century B.C. the Romans came into Asia and with their coming the doom of the Galatae was sealed.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.	Abhandlungen.
Abh. K.M.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J. Ph.	American Journal of Philology.
A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
Anc. Eg.	Ancient Egypt.
A.S.A.E.	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
Ath. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
B. z. Ass.	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
B.I.C.	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire.
Bay. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
Berl. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Biblica	Biblica. Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma.
B.S.A.	Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.	Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.	Bullettino dell' Instituto.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
C.I.S.	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
C.J.	Classical Journal.
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly.
C.R.	Classical Review.
C.R. Ac. Inscr.	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
D.B.	Dictionary of the Bible (J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1898).
E. Bi.	Encyclopaedia Biblica.
E. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ed. XI.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
E.R.E.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.	Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
F.H.G.	C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
G.G.A.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Geogr. Z.	Geographische Zeitschrift.
Head H.N.	Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd Ed. 1912.
Herm.	Hermes.
I.G.F.	Indogermanische Forschungen.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.B.S.	Journal of Biblical Studies.
J.D.A.I.	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J. Man. E.O.S.	Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.
J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies.

J.S.O.R.	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
K.A.H.	Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts.
Klio.	Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Liv. A.A.	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.
M.B.B.A.	Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.
M.D.O.G.	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
M.D.P.V.	Mitteilungen des deutschen Palästinavereins.
M.V.A.G.	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
Mon. d. I.	Monumenti Antichi dell' Istituto.
N.J. Kl. Alt.	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
N.J.P.	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
N.S.A.	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (Atti d. r. Accad. dei Lincei).
Num. Chr.	Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Z.	Numismatische Zeitschrift.
O.L.Z.	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund.
Phil.	Philologus.
P.S.B.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
P.W.	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Πρ.	Πρακτικά.
Q.S.	Quarterly Statement(s).
Rec. Trav.	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne.
Rev. A.	Revue archéologique.
Rev. Ass.	Revue d'Assyriologie.
Rev. Bib.	Revue biblique internationale.
Rev. Eg.	Revue égyptologique.
Rev. E.G.	Revue des études grecques.
Rev. H.	Revue historique.
Rev. N.	Revue numismatique.
Rh. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Riv. Fil.	Rivista di Filologia.
Riv. N.O.	Rivista nuova orientale.
Röm. Mitth.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Römische Abteilung.
R.V.	Revised Version.
R.V. mg.	Revised Version margin.
S.B.	Sitzungsberichte.
Syria.	Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.
T.S.B.A.	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Wien S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien.
Wien St.	Wiener Studien.
W.Z.K.M.	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Z.A.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
Z. Aeg.	Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
Z.A.T.W.	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Z.D.P.V.	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
Z.E.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Z.G. f. E.	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde.
Z.N.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

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These bibliographies do not aim at completeness. They include modern and standard works, and, in particular, books utilized in the writing of the chapters. Many technical monographs, especially in journals, are omitted, but the works that are registered below will put the reader on their track.

Special works dealing with the history posterior to the period with which this volume deals (viz. 1580 to c. 1000 B.C.) are naturally held over for the later volumes.

For some general information on the bibliographical, cartographical and other literature, see vol. I, p. 630.

N.B. Books in English and French are, unless otherwise specified, published at London and at Paris respectively.

CHAPTER I

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REGIONS OF ASIA MINOR

(Arranged according to the order in which they are treated.)

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[See the bibliography to chap. xi, below, p. 659 sq.]

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[See the bibliography to chap. xii, below, pp. 661 sqq.]

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